JOHN F. KENNEDY: FIRST IN A SERIES ON PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS . . . pp 6-7

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WASHINGTON PLANNING REPRISALS?

U.S. press distorting real story in Cuba to smear Castro rule

There have been increasing rumblings in Washington and in the press, in the last weeks, about "reprisals" against the Castro government in Cuba for its allegedly unfair expropriation of North American holdings. For Americans to make up their minds about events in Cuba, fair reporting is essential—and that is what Americans have not been getting. The article below shows to what lengths the press will go to distort the true picture.

By Kumar Goshal

READERS OF HAVANA'S newspaper **Informacion** were surprised on Jan. 16 when they found this note at the end of two Washington date-lined stories containing adverse comments on Cuba: "Clarification — this cable is published voluntarily by this establishment in the use of Cuba's legitimate press freedom, but journalists and workers here, also in the use of the same right, declare that the contents of the above story do not represent the truth or the most elemental journalistic ethics."

The "clarification clause" is another step taken by Cubans to defend their revolution. It was adopted by the Havana Journalists Assn. and the printers union last Dec. 28 after a move by Cubans and representatives of other newly-independent but underdeveloped countries failed in a strong effort to have the UN General Assembly in its last session adopt a general code of journalistic ethics before adjourning.

When **El Cristol** published on page one a protest against the action of the **Informacion** staffers, readers found a similar note of "clarification" below it from the **El Cristol** staff. On Jan. 17 four stories in **Diario de la Marina** were followed by the "clarification clause."

NATURAL REACTION: Adoption of the "clarification clause" is a natural reaction of Havana newspapermen to persistent attacks on the Castro regime by most major U.S papers and even many Cuban newspapers. A section of the Cuban press resents the new government because, as noted by CBS correspondent Robert Taber in the **Nation** for Jan. 23, it ended the practice of former governments

(Continued on Page 10)

From the GUARDIAN, Nov. 1, 1948

Report on Algiers

The Guardian next week will carry a full report from Paris on the new French crisis over Algeria.

AT THE ROOTS OF THE GERMAN DISEASE

The sorry record: The revival of Nazism

LIKE FLASHES of lightning, the resurgence of anti-Semitism in West Germany has exposed developments similar to those which led to World War II. These developments are the root of the disease of which the anti-Semitic outbreaks are only symptoms.

After World War I the West gradually allowed the rebuilding of Germany's economic might in the interest of the international cartels and promoted the rearming of Germany as the "bulwark against bolshevism." Germany under the Kaiser launched World War I to expand the German empire with the cry: **"Got mit uns** (God is with us)!" Under Hitler's "divine mission" and in the name of "anti-communism" Germany launched World War II to win **Lebensraum.**

Now Chancellor Adenauer demands the return of Germany's "lost territories" by reviving the cry for "living space." And on Jan. 22 he told Pope John XXIII that he believes God has given Germany (West that is) the special task of protecting the Western world against "powerful influences" from the East. Thus history seems to be repeating its tragic course, motivated by the same obsession, and heading in the same suicidal direction.

FORGOTTEN OBJECTIVE: After World War II the allies started with the policy of complete denazification and disarming of Germany, the destruction of German cartels, the promotion of a democratic Germany to the end that the postwar Germany could never again menace the security of its neighbors. Washington itself stated:

"The prime objective of U.S. policy is to achieve the demilitarization and democratization of Germany to the end that Germany may ultimately take its place in the community of peaceful and law-abiding nations."

But the policy changed even before the noble phrases ceased echoing around the world. American businessmen hotfooted it to West Germany to renew their profitable past connections. Among the first to arrive in 1946 were three IT&T vice presidents: Mark Sandstrum, Frank Page and K. B. Stockford. They conferred with Hitler's financial backers, Baron Kurt von Schroeder and Dr. Gerhard Westrick, whom Hitler sent to the U.S. in 1940 in an effort to keep this country neutral.

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YOUNG PEOPLE SUBPENAED TO CAPITAL FEB. 2

Un-Americans get $327,000 in Congress sneak play

IN A SNEAK PLAY, the House of Representatives on Jan. 20 appropriated $327,000 for the 1960 program of the Committee on Un-American Activities. Only a handful of Congressmen were on the floor when Rep. Samuel N. Friedel (D-Md.), member of the Un-American Activities Committee and chairman of an appropriations subcommittee of the Committee on House Administration, called up Resolution 413, the appropriations measure.

The motion was passed, without opposition and without a vote, minutes after the session opened and while the House was droning through the usual preliminaries. It was sandwiched between such items as the addition of two assistants in the document room of the office of the House Doorkeeper, and the lack of privacy in the employees toiled in a Milwaukee post office. The Un-American Activities Committee appropriation action consumed five inches in the **Congressional Record;** the toilet matter five pages.

William Price, co-ordinator of the Committee of First Amendment Defendants, which represents many of the 35 persons indicted or cited for contempt for refusing to cooperate with the Un-American Activities and other Congressional and state investigating committees, called the action "a sneak play engineered because the committee is afraid of legislative daylight."

HEARINGS DENIED: Public hearings on the appropriation, demanded by several civil liberties groups, had been denied. The action was not listed on the House calendar as is customary with important motions.

The maneuver was arranged by House Republican Leader Charles Halleck (R-Ind.) and Rep. Omar Burleson (D-Tex.) Reportedly, Speaker Sam Rayburn and

(Continued on Page 3)

THE MAIL BAG

Hangs up shingle

DENVER, COLO.

Let all my friends throughout the country who have given me aid and comfort during the course of my six-year struggle, know that on Wednesday, Jan. 13, the Colorado Supreme Court admitted me to the practice of law.

Civil liberty victories come so few and far between nowadays that perhaps this belated small victory, almost two years after the Supreme Court decision, will encourage others who are similarly situated.

With the removal of personal heartaches comes the time to aid more actively in the continuing and never-ceasing fight for peace and justice for the oppressed not only in our own country but also for those in the colonial areas.

If there is anything I can do to help do not hesitate to call on me. **Rudy Schware**

Who?

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Who has been chosen to deliver liberation (a la Guatemala) to Cuba? **Veni Vedi**

1960 alternative

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Events of the past several months have confirmed again the irreconcilability of maintaining socialist principles and supporting candidates for the two major parties in the forthcoming presidential elections. An accumulation of experiences dating back to the days of Henry Wallace and extending through Adlai Stevenson's latest speeches conclusively shows that support of these "liberals" is for socialists a barren and futile policy. There is only one genuine alternative to the two-party system which dominates America's political life: the establishment of a labor party which will be based upon the trade unions and will include the farmers, the Negro community, progressive sections of the middle class, etc.

Many will agree with the above proposition but will contend: "A new political party is not immediately in the cards. In the meanwhile we must support one or another major party candidate."

But why must we? Most prominently mentioned as being acceptable to some progressives and socialists are Hubert Humphrey and Stevenson. Yet Humphrey cast his vote for Landrum-Griffin, enthusiastically supported the sending of U.S. armed forces to Quemoy, proposed the outlawing of the Communist Party, and, together with Gov. Battle of Virginia, worked out a slippery formula for keeping the Dixiecrats with the Democrats at a past convention of that party. Stevenson on the other hand, has now endorsed a Democratic platform calling for greater "defense" expenditures and, in an appearance before a big insurance outfit, advocated further repressive anti-strike action by the government.

Must we really support such people? The policy of hopping from one "liberal" Democratic politician to the other brings in its wake continuous disillusionment, disappointment and despair. Inevitably, when the chips are down, one after another of the Democratic "liberals" reveals himself as being fundamentally a spokesman for the corporations.

Nor does the answer lie in shifting to the Republicans, the preferred party of American capital, simply because that party was compelled by world pressure and events to make a certain retreat and shift in foreign policy. Barring any sudden activity by the labor movement, which appears extremely unlikely, the 1960 Presidential elections will be a contest between two candidates both of whom speak for the corporations, albeit, in different voices.

Let us begin by recognizing this fact and urging a boycott of both national tickets, regardless of the particular candidates that may be nominated. The policy of boycotting elections is time-honored for socialists and is infinitely superior to the prostitution of socialist ideals and principles on the scraggly rocks of the "lesser evil" approach. Why support any evil—lesser or greater?

To boycott candidates does not mean to boycott issues. On the contrary, the 1960 elections provide a political forum through which the major issues should be raised, discussed and debated. But this forum may also be utilized to show that the resolution of the major problems before the American people requires in the first place a realignment of political forces through the instrumentality of a labor party. On a local level, the possibility of meaningful independent labor political action (such as the successful Walt Davis campaign in Cleveland) holds some promise and helps promote the idea of an eventual national breakaway from the confines of the two-party system. Advocacy of a boycott of both the Democratic and Republican national tickets may be done in numerous ways including—but certainly not limited to—an independent socialist ticket.

But whatever the medium, the objective remains the same: to push patiently along the historical process leading to an American labor party and to put an end to the two-party (but one class) political monopoly which exists today. **Jerry Gordon**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 11 (UPI)—A children's story about "soft, furry love" between a white rabbit and a black rabbit apparently has forced the resignation of the state's director of public libraries in race-conscious Alabama.

Miss Emily Reed, who was caustically criticized because the book **The Rabbits' Wedding** was allowed on general circulation shelves, has resigned effective April 21.

—San Diego **Union**, Jan. 20

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: .A., Lakeside, Calif.

Payola

TACOMA, WASH.

Atty. Gen. Rogers proposed clamping down on recipients of payola with an unspoken slap at hungry contestants who were so unwise and weak as to be on the receiving end in a rigged quiz show. But no reprisals are suggested for the big corporations who are paying the payola or sponsoring the rigged shows.

So while our government strikes again at the people, the members of the interlocking directorates of the broadcasting companies and the sponsors of the quiz shows and the corporations who pay payola can sit back and laugh.

When are we, the people, going to start running our government for and by us instead of letting it be run for and by the payola mob? **Yvonne M. Braune**

London Evening Standard

"Can't you ever just let me be myself?"

The higher values

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

There's a spreading realization among consumers that the making of a sale (regardless of what is being sold) has become the goal of business enterprise, and maximum profits the sole measure of values.

A clue to the nature of our illness is revealed in the following: According to the **Wall Street Journal**, last year U.S. advertisers spent approximately $10½ billion to promote goods and services. This is 3½ times the government expenditure on secondary education, and 5½ times what was spent on higher education. **Murray Kubit**

Anyway, it's Kishi

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

In its intelligence report known as the "Strategic Bombing Survey," the United States government in 1946 branded Shinsuke Kishi one of a score of Japan's top war leaders—he having been Minister of Commerce in the Tojo government. After the war Kishi, a convicted war criminal, changed his first name to Nobusuke. Recently, **Time** magazine named Nobusuke its "Man of the Year in the Far East."

Or was it Shinsuke? **Ned K. Hopkins**

Look

LAWTON, OKLA.

We are scared breathless for fear of an economic system that does not create multi-millionaires—and look what it costs us. **W. J. Watkins**

Good racket

BUFFALO, N. Y.

Speaking of r a c k e t s, what could be a bigger racket than one which provides people who have never done a stroke of work in their lives with all the necessities and luxuries which life has to offer? **W. C. Mueller**

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

GERMAN GENERALS . . . had a pleasant role in affairs last week. In Kassel, booted officers gathered under the Kaiser's flag to cheer the merging of two militaristic political parties both labeled "neo-fascist" by U.S. and British authorities. The new party was named the "German Reich Party."

In Paris, two German generals faced a court-martial of six French generals. They were charged with burning 1,000 homes in the town of Gerardmer and deporting 500 people. Abbe Toussaint, Gerardmer's priest, came to Paris to tell how the people were dragged out on a cold November night to watch their houses burn. The Abbe was not heard; the generals said they had found their job "disagreeable."

"Give them back their swords," intoned the court, acquitting the generals. "They are worthy."

—From the National Guardian, Jan. 30, 1950.

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REPORT TO READERS

Of maximum urgency

THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS for a ban on nuclear weapons testing have been resumed following a long holiday recess, picking up where the three involved nations—the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and Britain—left off last year, deadlocked after 14 months and 150 negotiating sessions.

Soon after the resumption the Soviets moved to relieve at least one aspect of the deadlock, by receding from a demand for veto rights over certain operations of an international control commission. This concession, however, had the discomfiting effect of removing a diversionary fringe issue and exposing the real dilemma of the negotiations—the fact that the U.S. delegates do not know what they are negotiating for.

At least one group in the administration, undoubtedly including Ambassador James J. Wadsworth, our chief negotiator, wants to conclude a comprehensive treaty, banning all tests of whatever description, under a suitable inspection system. The most the Pentagon and the Atomic Energy Commission want to consider is a ban on atmospheric tests but not on underground explosions.

TO STYMIE NEGOTIATIONS over insistence on the right to underground tests, when the Soviets are prepared to conclude a comprehensive agreement, would court world disfavor, since most nations are concerned not simply with the perils of atmospheric fallout, but primarily with ending the nuclear arms race.

Yet for the U.S. delegation to acknowledge this world attitude and agree at Geneva to a comprehensive treaty would lead directly into another Made-in-the-U.S.A. dilemma—the U.S. Senate probably would not approve such a treaty, whereas it might approve a limited treaty.

The reason for this second dilemma lies in our attitude on detection systems. Any detection system set up to record underground disturbances would detect something like 20,000 each year. All would ordinarily be due to earthquakes, but if underground tests were banned, U.S. has maintained that 10% of these unidentified tremors should be checked by on-site inspection to give sufficient chance of catching an illicit underground tester. However, no inspection system yet envisioned could check 10% of so large a number of disturbances, and scientists on both sides have acknowledged that a quota of 30 on-site inspections a year, or about one every two weeks throughout both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., would provide a sound beginning for international inspection. There are variations on this figuring—some Soviet scientists say ten inspections would be sufficient; some U.S. scientists think in terms of about 100. But all are far from the 10% figure—an indicated 2,000 inspections a year, about 40 a week—on which U.S. propagandists have successfully sold the Senate, if not the scientists.

SO THE JOB FALLS on the U.S. public to get to work on the State Dept., to get negotiations back on the track for a comprehensive treaty banning all tests; and the Senate, to convince the Senators that scientists, not militarists, are best fitted to devise a workable inspection system.

The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy says that "for all who are interested in a permanent cessation of tests, with all that it implies, this is the moment of maximum urgency." SANE urges communications to the President and Secy. of State Herter, as well as to your own Senators and to Senators J. W. Fulbright and Clinton P. Anderson, of the Foreign Relations and Atomic Energy Committees respectively.

The Science Advisory Group of SANE has issued a brief and compelling statement on a recommended minimum inspection system; and the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) has reprints of an authoritative letter on the same subject by physicist Jay Orear of Cornell to the N.Y. **Times** Dec. 30.

Write to SANE, 17 E. 45 St., N.Y. 17; and the AFSC, 237 Third Av., N.Y. 3; for these and other materials which will be helpful in communicating with your Senators.

—THE GUARDIAN.

Instant coffee

SEATTLE, WASH.

You are our eye of sanity in the capitalist hurricane (that simile is on a cup of coffee—I swear it). **Lyle Mercer**

Welfare fund

SALEM, ORE.

If I had a million dollars I would give you all, to keep up the good work for the welfare of the people of the world. **William Wallhausen**

THE DEMOCRATS AND THE GENERALS HOWL FOR MORE

Ike's new budget: Has he put the lid on spending for war?

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent
WASHINGTON

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE on Jan. 18 received a bill for $79.8 billion for the upkeep of their Federal government during the fiscal year 1961—July 1, 1960 to June 30, 1961. The bill, which came to $437.74 for every person in the country, was the President's annual budget. The President said he expected to collect $4.2 billion more than the bill and would use the surplus to reduce the national debt to $280 billion.

Inevitably the 940-page budget became the prime subject for political debaters eyeing the November elections. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Tex.) called it "a chip placed on the shoulder to start a political argument." Republicans praised it without restraint. The Democrats raised a barrage of uncoordinated and contradictory criticisms.

This is the largest peacetime budget in our history, an increase of $1.4 billion over the current budget. Its main items are:

Item	In billions	% of Total
Natl. security	$45.6	57
Interest on debt	9.6	12
Farm	5.6	7
Veterans	5.5	7
All other	13.5	17

Mr. Eisenhower said he expects to cover this spending and reduce the national mortgage with the following Federal income:

Income	In billions	% of Revenue
Individual taxes	$44	52
Corporation taxes	23.5	28
Excise (sales) taxes	9.5	11
Other receipts	9	9

THE SKEPTICS: The announced surplus was greeted with much skepticism. Two years ago the President announced a surplus and wound up with a $12.5 billion deficit. A recession had interfered. To make his new projected surplus stick, the President will have to persuade Congress to accept his spending proposals and to raise taxes and postal rates $1.5 billion a year. Above all, the surplus depends on the economic boom continuing till mid-1961 and bringing large increases in Federal income.

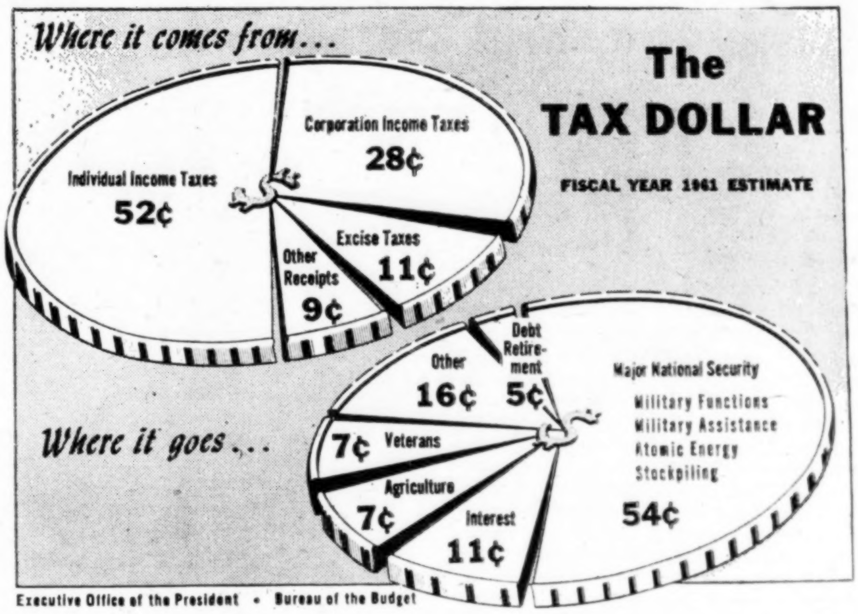
The budget battle now under way in Congress raises two major questions:

- How does the proposed appropriation for military spending look in the face of conflicting estimates of the prospects of a thaw in the cold war?
- Is the Administration's emphasis on a balanced budget and reduced government activity sound, or does it fail to meet national "general welfare" needs in education, housing, health, social security, urban aid, and economic development?

MILITARY SPENDING: The budget for "major national security" has leveled off. Defense Dept. spending is to remain at 1960 levels. The projected total of 2,489,000 men and women in the armed forces is a small decrease. It is slightly larger than the Soviet armed forces which will total 2,423,000 after the reduction recently decreed. About 30% of Defense Dept. spending—$12.1 billion—goes to pay for this personnel. Another $10.3 billion goes for operating and maintaining the armed forces and equipment throughout the world.

There is a tiny decrease in the 45% of the defense budget scheduled for military hardware and construction. The President said: "The last few years have witnessed what have been perhaps the most rapid advances in military technology in history. Some weapons systems have become obsolescent while still in production, and some while still under development." The budget reflects this with a 22% cut in the allocation for aircraft procurement and a big rise in spending for missiles.

Much debate will come over specifics: whether to spend more or less for the B-70 long-range bombers, or to rely on missiles; whether to continue our defense system against piloted bombers that has already cost $17 billion, or to prepare for defense against missiles; whether to spend an extra $130 million for a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier.



Executive Office of the President • Bureau of the Budget

THE REACTIONS: Speaker Rayburn (D-Tex.) charged the Eisenhower Administration with "complacency" in its military outlook. Sen. Kennedy (D-Mass.) attacked the Defense budget as inadequate, "an arbitrary ceiling which actually represents a smaller share of our national economic effort than last year's budget." Senators Symington (D-Mo.), Engle (D-Calif.) and Armed Services Committee Chairman Russell (D-Ga.) also reflected the general Democratic charge that President Eisenhower is spending too little on the military and is thus sacrificing America's security in order to balance the budget. Veteran Washington columnist Gould Lincoln (Washington **Star**, Jan. 21) reported that the Democratic effort to make this a leading issue in the Presidential campaign "amounts to a charge of treason" against the President.

Moscow radio called the budget "disappointing" since military allocations "are not reduced at all." It said: "You can't reinforce the peace by intensively preparing a nuclear and rocket war." It cited recent Soviet cuts in military spending and said: "You would think in such circumstances the West would also take steps to clear the world climate."

United Press International reported (Jan. 20) that atomic weapons experts were interpreting the President's repeated budget references to development of nuclear weapons as indicating certain resumption of nuclear testing.

CEILING ON SPENDING: But the fact remains that President Eisenhower has not acceded to the demands of many top military officials and leading Democrats to increase military budget totals. His enforcement of a military spending ceiling actually has decreased the proportion of our national income going to the military. Given the effect of rising costs, the real size of the military allocation has been slightly reduced.

A potent answer to demands for more military spending was the assurance of Secy. of Defense Thomas S. Gates and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Gen. Nathan S. Twining that "there is no deterrent gap" between the United States and the Soviet Union. This "optimistic" estimate, given to the Senate Armed Services Committee, was based on new intelligence information about "what the Soviet Union probably will do" rather than what is has the "capacity" to do. It was released the day after the President's budget, obviously to meet criticism of "inadequate" spending.

The Gates-Twining report impressed many Congressional leaders. Rep. Mahon (D-Tex.), chairman of the House Defense Appropriations subcommittee, said "this is the most enthusiastic and rosy reassuring presentation that we have ever had."

FOREIGN AID: Both Gates and Twining expressed doubts about Moscow's announced disarmament, but Gates said that if intelligence reports verified Premier Khrushchev's disarmament promises, the budget for 1962—but not the 1961 budget now being considered—would be altered (New York **Times**, Jan. 20).

Under the heading "Commerce and Housing," President Eisenhower included "space exploration and flight technology," as if to emphasize their non-military nature. The President asked that space spending be increased from $325 million to $600 million and said: "We should be ready to attempt actual manned space flights within the next two years."

For foreign aid the President is requesting $4,175,000,000, an increase of nearly one billion. Half the total foreign aid is for "military assistance for countries which are building defenses against aggression and subversion. . . . These countries border on aggressive regimes, or are confronted with strong internal subversive elements." The foreign aid appropriation promises to be a major target in Congress.

GENERAL WELFARE: The budget for 1961 cuts to a minimum allocations for housing, education, public health, social security, public works, urban renewal, and resource development. The President's message repeatedly states its governing conservative objective: minimizing the role of government in favor of private enterprise, and cutting Federal activity whenever state and local responsibility can be asserted. Above all, the President has given priority to a balanced budget and debt reduction against Federal aid and action for social legislation.

The Conference on Economic Progress, representing liberal, labor, farm and political leaders, attacked the budget as "creeping negativism" that "neglects the general welfare." The report was written by Leon Keyserling who headed the Council of Economic Advisers in the Truman Administration.

Northern liberals in the Congress generally dissent from the budget's limits on Federal welfare programs. Rep. Metcalf (D-Mont.), leader of an organized group of 125 House Democrats, said he was "shocked and appalled at the President's plans to reduce or terminate such programs as hospital construction veterans and college housing, and action on water pollution."

PROSPECTS: Congress must consider the separate appropriations bills that make up the total budget before June 30.

It is likely that the Eisenhower spending plans will prevail, since the President's veto power is great enough to stop enactment of significant new spending. Despite voluminous debate, it is likely also that the President will get his military requests. But he most likely will not be able to force the Democratic Congress to raise taxes and increase postal rates, and this will drastically reduce the expected surplus.

A recession before mid-1960 would throw the budget completely out of balance.

The Un-Americans

(Continued from Page 1)

Democratic Leader John W. McCormack were not aware of the plan.

The day after the action, Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) took the floor to complain that "since this is a controversial committee and its manner of operation and its actions have created controversy, and I might say confusion, I cannot understand why it was felt necessary to push through the appropriation on a day when legislation was not anticipated."

He announced that he would have voted against the appropriation on a roll call vote and promised to demonstrate at a later date that "the work of the committee has been in hit-and-run endeavors which have made headlines but have not resulted in concrete accomplishments." As an example he cited the committee's recent "abortive foray into California." (Late last year, in the face of widespread public protest, the committee canceled public hearings involving 110 California public school teachers.)

NEW PROBE: Even as the House acted, the committee was perfecting arrangements for its first foray of 1960. About a dozen persons in New York City and Chicago were summoned to a hearing in Washington on Feb. 2, 3 and 4. While Benjamin J. Davis Jr., natl. secy. of the Communist Party, was among those subpenaed, the majority were students who attended youth festivals abroad in the summers of 1957 and 1959.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee wired Rayburn urging him to cancel the hearings because "such treatment of our youth threatens their interest in peace, jeopardizes their education and violates their constitutional rights."

At a meeting in New York, 50 young people formed Youth Against the Un-American Activities Committee to protest the hearings. Busloads were scheduled to go to Washington Jan. 28 to talk to Congressmen.

In Los Angeles, the Committee to Preserve American Freedoms urged all persons, regardless of their residence, to write their encouragement to Rep. Roosevelt, and to write their Congressmen urging them to support Roosevelt's continuing opposition to the Un-American Committee.

On to Washington

BUSLOADS OF YOUTH will leave New York on Wednesday, Feb. 3, at 6 a.m. to protest the scheduled hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Buses will leave from the Cross Roads Cafe, 42nd St. and Seventh Ave. Round-trip fare is $5. Further information may be obtained from the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N.Y. Phone: OXford 5-2863. Young people from Philadelphia, Baltimore and other seaboard cities were expected in Washington also.

TODAY'S ELECTRONIC LABOR SPY

Don't talk in your union hall; the joint's probably 'bugged'

By Frank Bellamy
(Second of two articles)

THE BLACKJACK and the hired goon have practically disappeared as union-busting weapons, but the labor spy remains.

Although labor spies are seldom caught, and even more seldom punished, recent evidence suggests that snooping on worker and union activity is still a prevalent practice.

Labor spying today is not so open as the kind that was exposed by the La-Follette Committee and outlawed by the Wagner Act, but plenty of paid undercover operatives are still around. And in this age of super-snoopery, they are well trained in the use of electronic eavesdropping devices unknown in depression days.

So accepted has labor spying become that corporations found guilty of it by the National Labor Relations Board include many of the largest and most "respectable." For example: Montgomery Ward, Freuhauf Trailer, Minnesota Mining, F. W. Woolworth, Ford, Republic Steel, and Pure, Shell and Cities Service Oil.

EYES AND EARS: "Today, it is almost impossible to tell how many private firms have hidden TV screens, tape recorders and 'bugs'—all used to keep constant tabs on their workers," complains Albert Whitehouse, director of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO.

There's no doubt that science has given an electronic boost to the labor spy business.

- Some businesses, it is known, train closed-circuit television cameras on assembly lines to watch workers without being seen (shades of Charlie Chaplin's "Modern Times"). These midget TV transmitters, no larger than a cigar box, sell for $400 to $3,000.
- Plant detectives and informers can be equipped with a miniature microphone, perhaps concealed as a Dick Tracy type wrist watch or hearing aid button, to pick up the private conversations of unsuspecting workers and convey them to a sound recorder concealed in the clothing.
- "Bugs" (sensitive microphones) are planted in lavatories, lounges, lunchrooms and public telephone booths to check on employe "loyalty" and what workers talk about when the boss isn't around.

MECHANICAL RATS: Then, of course, there is the good old-fashioned still camera and the telephone tap. This fall, the NLRB found Tennessee Packers, Inc., of Clarksville, Tenn., guilty of taking pictures of workers accepting handbills from organizers of the United Packinghouse Workers. The board ruled the camera coerced employes in their right to choose freely whether to join the union.

The phone tap remains the workhorse of the mechanical rat industry. Thirty-two states, including New York, allow a subscriber to tap his own wire. **Business Week** (March 12, 1955) explained:

"A subscriber, meaning for one thing a big company, can legally listen in on its own phones, meaning the lines of any and all employes' offices. Companies constantly use phone taps to check leaks, thefts, manipulations, and even employe morale. Of 500 licensed investigators in New York State, at least 150 provide this sort of service."

NO SECRETS: In an article, "How Many Secrets Do You Have Left?", **Cosmopolitan** (November, 1955) reported:

"There is scarcely a big corporation that does not have some method of keeping tabs on the loyalty and reliability of its employes. Some utilize telephone taps, some enclose their employes in cubicles with one-way glass (so that management can see in but the serfs can't see out), and some set up elaborate spy systems in the ranks of lower grade employes, such as secretaries, office clerks, or laborers. . . . After analyzing tons of gossip, a company official gloated: 'We know just whom to promote and whom to fire!'"

The effect on morale can be imagined. Fear stifles initiative, spying begets more spying. **Fortune** (May, 1956) reported:

"Wholesale investigations of personnel, such as a spy hunt Chas. Pfizer & Co. put on in 1954, are self-defeating. Even if one were to establish the source of the information leaks [to competitors], and Pfizer failed to do so even after spending over $60,000 to pry into the personal life of several hundred employes, the damage to morale is likely to bring on a recrudescence of espionage by the remaining staff. For loyalty to the company keeps many potential spies in check; when this is destroyed, personal attitudes change: what would have been considered the betrayal of a friend becomes intelligence against an enemy."

Lancaster, London Daily Express
"Please darling! Pas devant les tappers!"

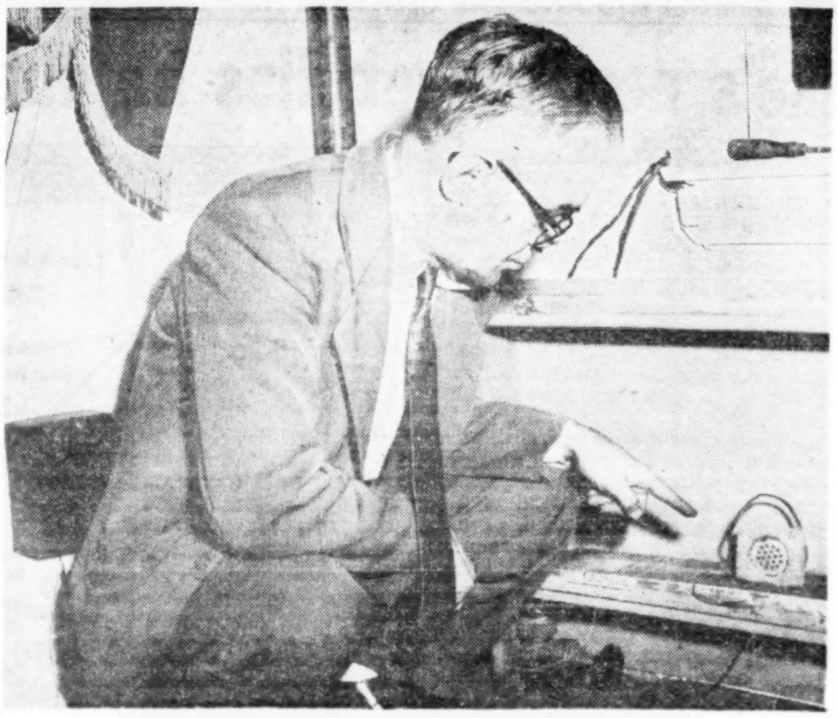
DO IT YOURSELF: Although organized industry pretty much accepts unions as evils to be put up with, unorganized industry is apt to do all it can, spying included, to keep the union out. Some executives save money by doing their own spying, as witness this recent NLRB case, as summarized by **Labor Relations Reporter** (subscription: $387 a year):

Local 1010, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO, was signing up workers at National Shirt Shops in Miami, Fla. "About 15 minutes before the start of an organization meeting . . . at a Miami hotel, the union's president was informed that the employer's district sales manager was sitting in the mezzanine. The union official went up to the mezzanine and observed the manager who was sitting in a chair with a newspaper in his hand. The manager could obtain full view of the stairway and elevator from the lower lobby and the doors of the meeting room. Every time anyone entered the mezzanine from either the stairway or the elevator, the manager glanced up from his newspaper to look at the person."

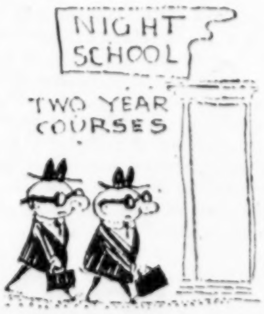
Rejecting as implausible the manager's explanation that he had entered the hotel for a drink, the NLRB found the firm guilty of unlawful surveillance of union activities.

In another case, the board found that an "employer's presence at [a] union meeting and his transcription of [the] proceedings on tape recorder were unlawful."

'COME AND TELL ME': Sometimes an employer tries to talk a worker into informing for him. Rockwell Manufacturing Company, St. Paul, Va., was found guilty of an unfair labor practice because its manager threatened to fire anyone caught "talking union" and asked an employe "to watch the people in the shipping department" and "find out what they are talking about . . . keep your eyes and ears open, and tell me, come to me, if you hear anything about the union."



A NEW YORK SUBWAY UNION LEADER FINDS A 'BUG'
The Transit Authority knew everything that went on in the office



Dyad, London Daily Worker
"Wot sort of degree do they want for phone-tappers?"

Police are called in on occasion. In New York, it will be recalled, they were caught red-handed bugging the union headquarters of the independent Motormen's Benevolent Association at the request of the Transit Authority. Leaks of confidential information from secret meetings of the MBA officers prompted a search which uncovered a microphone under a radiator. A policeman admitted having hidden in a linen closet during a membership meeting, watching through the keyhole as members took a strike vote and taking down conversation on a wire recorder.

That the snooping had been going on more than two years before it was detected leads one to wonder how many bugs in how many other union offices are never detected, how many phone taps remain unsuspected. The prudent union official adjourns to a restaurant or other neutral territory if he wants to make sure his conversations are private.

THE PROFESSIONALS: More reliable as a labor spy than the bumbling boss, the worker-stoolpigeon, or even the policeman—and consequently less likely to get caught—is the professional snoop, the private detective.

Private detective work is big and profitable business, employing more than 150,000 persons and taking in over $250,000,000 a year. In New York City alone the number of such agencies has mushroomed from less than a dozen in 1945 to more than 500 today. And despite TV and movie glamorizations of the private eye, his job remains one primarily of digging up dirt, not solving crime.

Said the **Wall Street Journal** (Sept. 19, 1957): "Today's type of organized, mechanized intelligence work dates from right after World War II. During the war thousands of FBI, OSS, CIA and other agents were trained in the use of electronic sound equipment. Today many of these men operate their own investigation agencies or do similar work as employes of large corporations."

TIME FOR A CLEAN-UP: From time to time a private detective is himself detected and his employer hauled before the NLRB. The board found one employer guilty of planting a gumshoe in union ranks. It rapped another for hiring snoopers, ostensibly to detect theft, but actually putting them to work in the guise of production workers to snoop on employes.

The United Auto Workers, whose strike against the Kohler Co. is now nearly six years old, has charged repeatedly that the plumbing fixture manufacturer has used hired spies. According to UAW **Solidarity** (Jan. 19, 1959), "Kohler has spent over $45,000 for 'private eyes' to prepare reports on unionists in the Kohler strike. Besides UAW members, the Kohler-hired detectives also spied on an NLRB hearing officer."

Could it be time for another LaFollette investigation?

The office romance—and the lie detector

Along with the labor spy, the lie detector is designed to make things hot for workers suspected of disloyalty or dishonesty. "A score of companies," according to **Personnel Journal** (March, 1957), "already use the polygraph to bring miscreants to book or to identify bad risks in the employment office."

Edward E. Brown, chairman of the First National Bank of Chicago until his death this fall, used to tell—with shame, to his credit—of the First National teller who was asked on a lie detector test where he was when money was found missing from the night depository. He was home, said the teller. The needle wobbled violently. In a corner, the teller confessed: He had spent the night with a First National switchboard operator. Although absolved of the suspected theft, he was dismissed under one of the bank's Victorian regulations outlawing intrabank romances.

Years later, masons found the money in a wall cavity where it had slipped from the night depository.

THE DIGNITY OF MAN OR THE DIGNITY OF THE RAT?

The search for security via a hole in the ground

(Reprinted from the Progressive World *magazine, January, 1960).*

By Hugh Robert Orr

A FEW MONTHS AGO we published an editorial expressing our extreme gratitude to Governor Rockefeller for his clairvoyant humanitarianism in urging the necessity of the family bomb shelter. We are now proud to be able to invite the Governor to come to California and see for himself a successful bomb shelter in which 96 men "survived" for two weeks entombed under ground. The men, jail prisoners all, had volunteered to be "guinea pigs" in this most praiseworthy project born of the happy coition of Civil Defense and Army brain power.

It was indeed a noble experiment for the bomb shelter at Camp Parks in Alameda County, California, marks a new step in human progress. In fact, it beautifully symbolizes another triumph of Christian civilization and attests to the essential dignity of man.

To be sure, at the end of the two-week period the 96 "survivors" emerged from their rat-like refuge unwashed, unshaved, grimy, very stiff, and ready for a decent meal. Some of them confessed that they had felt a little cramped with only elbow room in their underground asylum, and others dropped a hint that the matter of . nitation had apparently been curtailed in the planning of the haven. But in the enthusiasm naturally generated in carrying out such a beneficent work some allowances must be made for minor deficiencies. Anyway, you have to pay 50 cents a night to stay in the cheapest flop house. These fellows were not charged a cent for two weeks' lodging and board—boiled wheat and crackers. What do you want for free?

DR. STROPE, the military physician who carefully watched over the experiment (from the outside) pronounced it a glorious success, and said that at least 25 more men could have been squeezed into the 25-by-48-foot hole. And when the Fort Mason Army band, on hand to greet the "survivors" as they stumbled forth in the daylight, burst full blast into the marching song, "The Bridge on River Kwai," great was the rejoicing of the 96 brave and bearded specimen of subterranean survival.

The objective-minded scientists, who had been able to view the hour-to-hour behavior of the human guinea pigs through closed-circuit television, expressed their satisfaction, gathered up their data, and called it a day. But most happy of all were the Civil Defense officials, who were mightily encouraged in the feeling that they had not lived in vain.

As for Dr. Strope, it may be said to his c.edit that he did not allow his ecstacy to carry him off his feet. Although as a small-scale venture the results were very pleasing in proving that human beings can live like vermin, there were, he announced, further projects being planned. It is necessary to establish the practicability of "mass shelters" on a large scale. Moreover, it is still uncertain how women and children would be able to make out in a lengthy stay. A few more inches of space per person might be advisable, it seems. Also better sanitation should be introduced and something must be done to keep the stench down to a n.inimum.

ONE IS REMINDED of how the early Christians had to seek shelter in the catacombs of Rome. Perhaps something of the same odor of sanctity was enjoyed by the 96 men in the bomb shelter, for many convicts are known to be very devout.

At any rate, the unquestioned success of the bomb shelter project demonstrates beyond a doubt that ingenious man, in his heroic efforts to escape the consequences of his own civilization, can vie with the blind mole in his search for security, and that his human dignity may attain even to the level of the dignity of the rat.

GOVERNMENT RESEARCH IS INADEQUATE

Available figures show rise in levels of strontium-90

By Robert E. Light

THE AMOUNT of strontium-90 from nuclear bomb fallout that has worked its way into human bones and into the nation's food is of concern to every person because in sufficient quantities it can cause bone cancer and leukemia. But the amount of research U.S. government agencies have done thus far is so meager that precise levels are not known. What can be determined from available data is only whether strontium-90 concentrations are going up or down. Recent reports from independent and government sources indicate the levels are going up.

Consumers Union, an independent nonprofit testing organization, in 1958 undertook to check on strontium-90 levels in milk because the Atomic Energy Commission's research was scanty. It tested milk in 48 U.S. cities and two in Canada. A report, published in the March, 1959, issue of **Consumer Reports**, concluded: "There is incontrovertible evidence that the strontium-90 content of milk has been increasing since 1954."

Last year the organization decided to repeat its tests because "there was no immediate prospect of any substantial increase in government surveillance of milk." This time 27 cities were checked, 21 of which had been tested in 1958. The results, published in **Consumer Reports**, February, 1960, show that the strontium-90 level has increased.

NO PRECISE FIGURES: The report pointed out that CU's findings, taken with less ambitious Public Health Service studies, tended to confirm an upward trend. The report added: "It is clear that even the overall averages and trends based on such figures [CU's and the government's] are far from precise. But these are virtually the only data available, and, if we are to draw any conclusions at all, they must be drawn from these figures."

The study also showed that strontium-90 levels vary greatly in a short span of time. In St. Louis, for example, the level in July, 1958, was 16 strontium units (number of micromicrocuries per gram of calcium) and in July, 1959, the level was the same. But in the intervening year, the level had gone up to 29 in April and down to 9 in June.

The report summed up: "The chief lesson, regretfully, is that CU's data, along with those of the government agencies, merely hint at the irregularity and complexity of radioactive fallout products in milk and in other foods, and the urgent necessity of finding out more about them . . .

"The problem is too vast for any single organization to deal with adequately. And it is becoming increasingly clear that the government's present efforts are totally insufficient for our need. Our knowledge of the averages may be adequate to indicate a rough trend, but the general pattern of radioactive products in food is almost completely unknown . . . Fallout should, in short, be the focus of a penetrating widespread and objective national or international effort."

FINDINGS CONFIRMED: The AEC's Quarterly Statement on Fallout, released Jan. 14, confirmed CU's findings. A summary of tests conducted by private and government groups showed that the average level of strontium-90 in milk had risen from 5.7 units in 1957 to 8 units in 1958, and for the first half of 1959 it equaled 11.6 units. CU's survey had shown a level of 8 in 1958 and 8.8 in 1959.

But these figures cannot be taken as precise measurements because of the small number of areas tested and the infrequency of the tests. They do indicate, however, areas in need of further study. In the Central states and eastern Canada, for example, the average level in 1958 was 7.3. During the first half of 1959, it rose to 14.2.

KIDS HARDEST HIT: A matter of particular interest on which there is almost no information is the strontium-90 level in children's bones. The most comprehensive information is likely to come from the Baby Tooth Survey conducted by the Greater St. Louis Citizen's Committee. CU has undertaken to check 50 samples of 40 teeth each collected by the committee.

The only available data comes from surveys by the Lamont Geological Laboratory at Columbia University, summarized in the AEC statement. It shows that levels have increased over the past four years. Bone concentrations in age groups up to 20 years in 1958-59 ranged from .72 strontium units to 2.6 with the highest levels in the six-months age group. But these calculations were made from only 127 samples.

'DOOM CLOCK' IS TURNED BACK

Ever since its founding in 1945, the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists *has shown on its cover a "clock of doom" pointing to two minutes to midnight. Last month the scientists moved the minute hand back five minutes "in recognition of . . . new hopeful elements in the world picture."*

Scientists have stressed analysis of milk because it was believed that milk supplied 80% of the strontium-90 in the diet. But recent findings have revised the estimate down to as little as 60%. This would indicate the importance of studies on the strontium-90 content in other foods and in the whole diet.

NO STANDARDS: Until the whole diet is surveyed comprehen.ively, it is difficult to estimate the danger of the rising strontium-90 levels. The Intl. Commission on Radiological Protection set the "maximum permissible concentration" level at 67 strontium units. An American commission prefers a higher level. But until accurate statistics are amassed on how much strontium-90 is being ingested in food, air and water, there is no way of knowing how close we are to these "permissible" levels.

Some small hope came Jan. 12 when Secy. of Health, Education and Welfare Arthur S. Flemming announced that the Public Health Service, which took over responsibility from the AEC, would expand its milk testing to 60 cities on July 1. Until recently the PHS had only four employes working part time in 12 cities. Flemming also said that studies are under way of total beta radioactivity and of strontium-90 in the most common foods in the American diet.

On the expansion of the milk testing program, **Consumer Reports** commented: "As welcome as the increase will be, it still represents a good deal less than what may be necessary."

FALLOUT ACCELERATED: The problem of checking the effects of fallout is becoming more acute because scientists indicate that debris is coming down faster than anticipated. This may mean that radioactive concentrations will be heavier and short-lived isotopes, previously overlooked, may deserve attention. Strontium-89, for example, is thought to be more harmful to fetuses than strontium-90.

Debris from the U.S. H-bomb tests 100,000 feet over the Johnston Islands in August, 1958, was thought to take 100 years to descend. Advocates of continued tests have pointed to these blasts to support their argument that high altitude explosions will produce little fallout. But two scientists at the Air Force Cambridge Research Center in Bedford, Mass., who have been tracking the fallout from the Johnston Islands explosions, report that the debris may come down in as little as ten years. They emphasize that "it is much too early to tell." It may be two, five or 50 years.

If the strontium-90 from these explosions remained in the upper atmosphere for 100 years, 92% of it would decay. But if it stays up for only ten years, only 22% will disappear.

The AEC's announcement of the preliminary results of the Cambridge study is an object lesson in how to be untruthful without lying. It said: "The results obtained so far imply that the time required for high stratospheric material to fall out to the surface is much longer than for low stratospheric material."

BEFORE THE COURT: While some were concerned over the fallout from nuclear tests already made, there were others taking steps to see that no further explosions occur. A group of 39 persons, including scientists from the U.S., Canada, England, West Germany, France and Japan; three Japanese fishermen, and 16 residents of the Marshall Islands, are suing to halt U.S. tests. A Federal judge dismissed their case last July on the ground that they lacked standing to sue. But the ruling was appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals. Arguments were heard Jan. 21 and a ruling is due soon.

During the arguments Judge David L. Bazelon told attorney Francis Heisler not to belabor the question of possible damage from nuclear tests. He conceded: "There is no question in anybody's mind that more damage is possible than a human mind can comprehend."

THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF PROFILES ON THE CANDIDATES

John F. Kennedy: A young millionaire who promise

By Louis E. Burnham

FOR ALMOST TWO YEARS Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts has been running for the Democratic nomination for President of the United States. Commuting by private plane from his Washington office to every state in the nation, he has amassed more newspaper lineage, TV exposure and pledged delegates than any other aspirant among a sizable group of party hopefuls. Yet an effort to pinpoint Kennedy's stand on the major issues which the nation faces remains an exercise in frustration.

If the Senator should succeed in carrying the fortunes of the redoubtable Kennedy clan from the environs of the Boston saloon which his grandfather kept two generations ago to the White House in 1960, his victory will be not so much an indication of the persistence of social mobility in a class-divided society, as a testament to the drawing power of the chameleon in U. S. politics.

The Kennedy saga began when Joseph, ambitious son of the ward-heeling tavern keeper, married Rose, daughter of John F. (Honey Fitz) Fitzgerald, the colorful mayor of Boston. He vowed that he would make $1,000,000 for each of their nine children and overshot the mark by far. All nine of the Kennedy heirs received the million when they reached maturity, but the gifts hardly made a dent in Papa Joe's fortune, now estimated at $250,000,000.

EARLY START: Joseph Kennedy learned early that the easiest way to put together that kind of wealth, starting practically from scratch, was to manipulate other people's money. At 25 he gained control of the Columbia Title Trust Co. in East Boston, becoming the youngest bank president in the state. Though anti-Catholic prejudice kept him off the board of the Massachusetts Electric Co. for a while, the bias receded as his bankroll increased and in 1917 he took the post.

His next move was to Wall Street and the stock market manipulations which were commonplace during the 1920s and early '30s. Kennedy became an expert in setting up pools with other brokers to take option on huge blocks of cheap and idle stocks. The pool would then buy and sell the shares in small lots to get the stock's name mentioned frequently on the ticker tape. Impressed with this "action," suckers would buy the stock, inflating the price. At this point, Kennedy and his colleagues sold their shares and pocketed the profit. The suckers held the bag—a cheap, idle stock which had taken a plunge.

THE KENNEDY BROTHERS
Bob and Jack work as a team

In 1933 Kennedy made such a killing on a deal which he master-minded with the Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Co. that the Senate Banking and Currency Committee investigated the transaction. These were the days of prohibition repeal. The committee reported that the pool "was materially aided by a popular delusion that the company was engaged in manufacturing glass 'bottles" for the liquor industry. Buyers of the stock later learned that Libby-Owens-Ford converted their glass into windshields, not bottles.

PAPA JOE KENNEDY (l.) SURPRISES SON'S RIVAL NIXON
The two met by chance on a New York City Street

RISE IN POLITICS: Joe Kennedy soon had his money reaping handsome returns in the motion picture industry, imported liquors, real estate, merchandising (the family owns Chicago's Merchandise Mart)—and politics. He raised and gave large sums to Franklin D. Roosevelt's first campaign in 1932 and was rewarded —with fine irony—with the chairmanship of the newly established Securities Exchange Commission. The Commission outlawed and policed the very stock-juggling practices its chairman had used to make his fortune. But by that time Kennedy's wad was safe; he could restrain others with a clear conscience.

From the SEC Kennedy went on to chairmanship of the U.S. Maritime Commission, to the Court of St. James' as U.S. Ambassador to Britain—and to a celebrated break with Roosevelt.

He opposed U.S. participation in the war against fascism. On Nov. 10, 1940, he told a reporter for the Boston **Globe** that "democracy is finished in England. . . . I'm willing to spend all I've got left to keep us out of the war. What would we get out of it? We'd just be holding the bag. Lindbergh isn't crazy either, you know." (At that time aviator Charles Lindbergh had transformed himself from a popular hero into a public controversy by advocating appeasement of Hitler.)

SOUR NOTES: In another interview, which he mistakenly thought was off the record, the Ambassador complained that the President's wife, Mrs. Roosevelt, "bothered us more on our jobs in Washington to take care of poor little nobodies . . . than all the rest of the people down there put together. She's always sending me a note to have some little Susie Glotz to tea at the Embassy."

On that, and other sour notes, Joe Kennedy ended his public career and moved, as did many other Roosevelt admirers who became Roosevelt haters, to the far right. But he still had his millions; and, what's more, he had four sons and five daughters, all millionaires by inheritance and all united by fierce family loyalty.

The family had long since moved from Boston and taken up residence in New York and Palm Beach, and Hyannisport and Cape Cod, Mass. Legend has it that when the boys lost in the yachting races off the Cape they were sent to bed without supper. As the children married and scattered, the Joseph P. Kennedy Jr. Foundation followed them to all parts of the country.

"One thing we had in mind when we set up the Foundation," said Papa, "was to establish either a hospital or school in every city where somebody in the family lives, so that our girls and the boys' wives would have something to keep them busy outside their homes."

HOW JOHN F. STARTED: With the boys growing up, it was to be only a matter of a few years before the Kennedys would be back in politics. By family agreement, the eldest son, Joseph Jr., was to be the front man of a new political dynasty. But with his death in a World War II bombing raid over Germany, the mantle fell to the second son, now Senator John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

With Harvard, war service as a PT-boat commander and a brief stint as a Hearst roving reporter behind him, young Kennedy in 1946 ran for the Congressional seat vacated by the late James M. Curley, patriarch among Boston's Irish politicians. At the outset of the campaign the voters wondered who this handsome, seemingly-shy outsider was. He didn't live in Boston and was a newcomer to politics. But money atones for many deficiencies: Kennedy won.

In 1952 Kennedy went to the Senate by defeating Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge in a year when the Republicans won every other major race in Massachusetts. Speculation still has it that his 70,000-vote margin over Lodge was accounted for by the fact that he was the only Democratic candidate endorsed by the stridently pro-McCarthy Boston **Post.**

THE LOAN: Post owner John Fox later revealed that soon after the 1952 election he had received a $500,000 loan from Joseph Kennedy. The Kennedy office in New York quickly announced that the loan had not been "discussed or contemplated" at the time of the endorsement, that it had been repaid in full with the usual interest and was "simply one of many commercial transactions in which this office has participated."

But politics is a haven for skeptics, and there are those who still believe that Jack Kennedy wangled his way into the Senate by courting and buying out the pro-McCarthy right wing of the Republican party in Massachusetts. And the new Senator's performance on the issue of McCarthyism has done little to dispel the suspicion.

McCarthy was invited to the Kennedy home and became a friend of the family. The elder Kennedy saw in McCarthy's "20 years of treason" charge an explanation of his troubles with FDR. Jack Kennedy's younger brother Robert, a lawyer with a penchant for investigations, got a job on the McCarthy committee staff.

SILENT—IN PUBLIC: What was the young Senator to do? In public he kept quiet on the issue of McCarthyism. But in October, 1953, John P. Mallan, a teaching fellow at Harvard, charged that Kennedy had told an informal campus gathering of professors and students on Nov. 10, 1950, that we'd "have to get these foreigners off our backs" in Europe; that he supported the McCarran Act because not enough had been done about Communists in government; that he respected Joe McCarthy and felt he "knew Joe pretty well, and he may have something," and that he was very happy that his fellow-Democrat, Helen Gahagan Douglas, had just been defeated in California by Richard Nixon.

If Mallan was not an accurate reporter, Kennedy did nothing to correct him for six years. In 1959 the Senator's campaign forces circulated a letter from Dr. Arthur N. Holcombe, retired head of the Harvard Government Department and host of the 1950 gathering, charging Mallan with "false and misleading statements." The letter, however, did not deny Mallan's specific charges.

On issues raised by McCarthy and McCarthyites in Congress, Kennedy's record is mixed. He favored the Wood anti-subversive bill and a McCarthy amendment to reduce aid to nations trading with China; he opposed appointments of two McCarthy pals: Scott McLeod, State Dept. security officer, as Ambassador to Ireland, and Robert E. Lee as a member of the Federal Communications Commission. He opposed a bill to compel waivers of a witness' rights under the Fifth Amendment and questioned the constitutionality of a contempt citation demanded by McCarthy against Corliss Lamont.

DIDN'T CENSURE JOE: Despite these anti-McCarthy stands on particular issues, Kennedy seems never to have reached the conclusion which the Senate adopted in the censure debate of 1954 —that McCarthyism was a political malignancy the country could no longer afford.

When Vermont's Sen. Flanders introduced the censure resolution, Kennedy prepared a speech restricting his criticism to McCarthy staff members Roy Cohn and David Schine. McCarthy should be censured, he felt, not because his purposes were harmful, but only because he had permitted his underlings to misbehave, thus bringing the Senate into disrepute.

The speech was never delivered because the Senate referred the resolution to a select committee which considered the matter for months. When it returned to the floor the Senate voted, 67 to 22, to censure McCarthy. Kennedy was in the hospital, undergoing surgery for a wound sustained in World War II. He might have been recorded as pairing for or against the censure motion (an action which Senators use to avoid an actual vote). But he did not vote, and efforts to place him on record on the question have since been unavailing.

In light of this record, Mrs. Roosevelt has said of the author of the best-selling book, **Profiles in Courage:** "I feel that I would hesitate to place the difficult decisions that the next President will have to make with somebody who understands what courage is and admires it, but has not quite the independence to have it."

ADAPTABLE: Kennedy's failure to impress Mrs. Roosevelt, however, cannot be taken as a fair index of his influence among other liberal Democrats. Rigid on the McCarthy issue, he has exhibited an adaptability on other questions which is not uncommon to political aspirants.

In 1956 his reputation as a middle-of-the-roader, acceptable to all segments of the multi-factioned Democratic Party, helped him rise to within 38½ votes of the Vice Presidential nomination. When,

nises all things to all men

two years later, he was re-elected to the Senate with 1,362,926 votes to his Republican rival's 488,318, the biggest plurality in Massachusetts history, he was backed by both the conservative Boston **Herald** and the liberal Americans for Democratic Action.

With his eye firmly fixed on the Presidency, Kennedy began to build a formidable campaign machine. At the center of it was the Kennedy family—brothers, sisters and in-laws. Only Joseph Kennedy, unreconstructed reactionary, was relegated to a back seat.

PRIVATE BRAINTRUST: Stories circulated that the Senator had a mind of his own, that he had long had political differences with his father, and that he was really a sort of intellectual idealist whose notions of the nation's welfare could in no way be affected by Joe Kennedy's, or his own, wealth.

The elder Kennedy is never seen at campaign headquarters. He spends his time shuttling from Lake Tahoe on the California-Nevada border to the Riviera, and from Cape Cod to Palm Beach. He has been known, however, to call long-distance to find out how Jack was doing in lining up delegates.

Under the guidance of Theodore Sorenson, Kennedy's executive assistant, an informal group of college professors have been brought together from Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology to keep the Senator supplied with ideas, legislative proposals and speeches. The group includes W. Barton Leach, a Republican and an authority on military policy, and Prof. Sam Beers, Government Department head at Harvard and chairman of ADA. Others who have served as Kennedy "braintrusters" are Profs. John K. Galbraith and Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. of Harvard, both of whom wrote speeches for Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and 1956. To supplement the labor of the professors, Kennedy has the Chicago pollster Louis Harris constantly tapping public opinion for him.

HARRY LIKES JACK . . .
But he hasn't endorsed him

PUBLIC IMAGE: Backed by these experts, the Senator in the last few years has offered the nation a Kennedy plan or a Kennedy bill for almost every conceivable social ill. His studied effort to assume the public posture of a liberal has met with some success. The ADA scored him 100% for voting "right" on 13 key roll-calls in the first session of the 86th Congress; the AFL-CIO marked him "right" on 15 of 16 issues, not voting on the other; the railroad brotherhoods recorded him as "right" on 49 issues, "wrong" on three, not voting on nine.

He has voted with the liberal Democrats on taxes, welfare, and housing; he has supported control of natural gas, Federal ownership of tidelands oil and a public power dam at Hell's Canyon; he sponsored the bill to extend jobless pay to 49 weeks and standardize the program nationally; he has sought to amend the National Defense Education Act to eliminate the loyalty oath for student loan applicants; his bills include a ten-point housing, vocational training, medical care and recreation program for older citizens.

THE CONTRADICTIONS: Yet, on three key issues—peace, labor's rights and civil rights—Kennedy's position remains one of carefully contrived contradictions. In 1956 he told a communion breakfast of telephone workers in Boston: "What has happened in Hungary will soon happen in Poland and within Russia itself. . . . The balance of power has shifted against the Russians."

The Russian sputniks were soon to help many Americans redress their estimates of the world balance of power, and Kennedy, like others, managed a reluctant retreat from the "liberation" thesis of Dulles. But not altogether, and not all at once. He sea-sawed between calls for cold war belligerence and proposals for peaceful accommodation.

Last summer he told a Wisconsin audience: "Our position in Europe is worth a nuclear war," and that we should convince the Soviet Union of our "willingness to go to the ultimate weapon." Along these lines, he is also quoted as saying: "Our aspirations as the most powerful leader of the Free World conflict with their aspirations as the most powerful leader of the Communist World. No negotiations can end those differences. No exchange of personal visits, no amount of summit conferences, can cause either side to compromise away its fundamental position in Germany, Europe or the world community."

THE WORDS CHANGE: After the Khrushchev visit (pollster Harris may have reported that the tide was moving strongly toward coexistence), Kennedy addressed students at the U. of Rochester. "We, too, must offer deeds, not words," he said. "We need to think through more carefully our own positions on such questions as disarmament and troop withdrawal, instead of offering only proposals which we know in advance will be rejected. The fact is that we can find certain basic interests which the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have in common—and we should concentrate our efforts on those potential areas of agreement."

In the current biography, **John Kennedy: A Political Profile**, author James MacGregor Burns quotes the Senator as saying that the U.S. "should make decisions now about vacating Quemoy and Matsu." Kennedy told Burns that the islands are "indefensible and . . . provide a needless irritant that could drag us into a struggle with Red China, a struggle in which we would be isolated by world opinion." He advocated that the U.S. "set forth conditions of recognition [of China] which seem responsible to a watching world," but opposed recognition or UN admission of China under present conditions.

THE LABOR BILL: Kennedy's habit of tipping his hat to both sides as he walks erratically down the middle of an issue is nowhere better illustrated than in his handling of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin bill. In the atmosphere of public anti-labor incitement created by the hearings of the McClellan committee, of which he was a member and his brother Robert the chief counsel, he pushed for passage of his labor control measure. He convinced the top AFL-CIO leaders that their opposition to any measure was untenable and that their choice was between his "moderate" measure or a harsher one.

When the House, under the President's prodding, added the onerous Landrum-Griffin provisions and sent them back to the Senate, Kennedy made a show of opposing some of the more severe restrictions, then voted for the measure as a whole. Fellow-Democrat Wayne Morse of Oregon called him the "principal architect" of a "viciously anti-labor bill," and flatly accused him of pushing the law to advance his Presidential ambitions. Big business hailed the measure. But Kennedy had succeeded in gulling some labor leaders into the belief that he had fought for their interests. AFL-CIO president George Meany named him—along with Sens. Morse, Pat McNamara (D-Mich.), and Jennings Randolph (D-W. Va.)—as one of the liberals who had "worked tirelessly to get rid of some of the more obvious injustices" and were "partially successful."

CIVIL RIGHTS STAND: Kennedy's civil rights position has been a masterpiece in ambiguity. In four key votes on the 1957 Civil Rights Act he split his ballots—two for Nothern proponents of a strong statute, and two for their Southern opponents. He has upheld the Supreme Court school desegregation decision as the "law of the land" and said he favors Federal protection of the right to vote. But simultaneously he has courted Southern support and avoided a commitment on specific means of enforcing Negroes' constitutional rights.

After a four-hour conference with Alabama's Gov. John Patterson, one of the South's staunchest pro-segregation politicians, he told the press that they had not discussed civil rights. And Patterson said: "Kennedy is young, progressive, and colorful. It's my opinion that he would run the strongest race in Alabama and the South."

Kennedy was one of a minority of Senators who failed to respond to an American Veterans Committee questionnaire on civil rights. When on Jan. 2 he officially announced his candidacy and his program, civil rights was not among seven "vital" issues listed. In response to a newsman's question he reiterated his stand that the law on desegregation is "settled" and ought to be obeyed. In an editorial, the California **Eagle** responded:

"We know all of those things; what we don't know and what we would like to know is what 'President Kennedy' would recommend to Congress and what he would do to enforce equality before the law in Gov. Patterson's state, and in Louisiana, and in Mississippi and in other southern states where he has so many friends and supporters."

"PAGE BOY": Kennedy's appearance and personality have been almost as much the subject of discussion as his politics. He will be 43 when the voters go to the polls in November and, if elected, the youngest President since the first Roosevelt, who acceded to the office from the Vice Presidency. The New York **Times'** James Reston wishes "he would only wear a hat and look less like a page boy in the Senate." New York's Sen. Kenneth Keating quipped: "Every time Jack appears on a TV panel show, viewers write in to ask which college won the debate."

Despite his youth, Kennedy's political style is relaxed. He speaks in a low key and his aides have said he has a way of "depassionating" an issue. Whether this is an asset or liability is an open question. One Democratic senator said: "Let me put it this way. If my dear old mother were to fall and break her leg, Hubert Humphrey would cry, but I'm not so sure about Jack." Despite the appearance of aloofness, Burns describes Kennedy as "a serious, driven man, about as casual as a cash register."

THE HOT QUESTION: The religious issue is one which the Senator has sought to "depassionate" in the public mind. Though he is likely to run well ahead of the field in the primaries and enter the nominating convention in Los Angeles next July with 400-odd delegates (761 are needed for the nomination) he will then run smack into the party bosses who are cool to his campaign.

Their argument is that the continuing strength of the anti-Catholic vote in the country makes a Catholic Presidential candidate unfeasible for the Democrats. To this, Kennedy and his backers oppose two mutually contradictory arguments: (1) that the religious issue has no place in the campaign so long as a candidate believes in the separation of church and state, and (2) that the anti-Catholic vote can be more than offset by the "Catholic vote" in the urban areas of large Northern states which the Democrats must win to take the Presidency.

Some political pros see a deadlocked convention with Kennedy eventually accepting second place on the ticket. Kennedy has said that, though he sought the office in 1956, he now prefers not to be Vice President "and watch the President's health," and that he will not accept the office "under any condition." To the suggestion that he would make a fine running mate for Adlai Stevenson, he has responded with the proposal that Stevenson might make him a good Secy. of State.

It is too early to tell whether the young millionaire can go all the way. If he should, his victory will be another proof that lots of money and the ability to promise all things to all people are still hard to beat in U.S. poiltics. "To him," Burns writes, "to be emotionally or ideologically committed is to be captive." Kennedy is not the kind of man to become a captive.

DAVID J. McDONALD PINS A STEELWORKER'S BADGE ON KENNEDY
Some labor leaders still back the author of the anti-labor bill

PROF. BERNAL APPEALS TO IKE

Clergymen lead in the fight to release Dr. Willard Uphaus

AS HE STARTED on the second month of a one-year sentence in the county jail at Boscawen, N. H., Dr. Willard Uphaus, director of the World Fellowship of Faiths, said in an interview: "I feel in my heart that the state will not be proud of this and I will turn out to be the one who upheld its basic law."

Dr. Uphaus was convicted of contempt of court for refusing to surrender to New Hampshire Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman the guest list of the World Fellowship summer camp he conducts at Conway, N. H. During the Christmas holidays Dr. Uphaus received more than 700 letters of support, and since then the number of persons speaking up in his behalf has grown.

In early January a New Hampshire Committee for the Rights of Conscience was formed in Manchester with retired University of New Hampshire Professor Max Abell at its head; vice-chairman is the Rev. Bradford Young of Manchester, pastor of the state's second largest Episcopal church. Members include other prominent clergymen, educators and business men.

INCORRIGIBLE WITNESS: Earlier Rev. Young had joined with five other New Hampshire ministers in a petition for Dr. Uphaus' release to Superior Court Judge George R. Grant who had sentenced him. The ministers wrote: "Nothing will induce Dr. Uphaus to surrender the names of his guests. He is in the strictly legal sense of the word incorrigible. We are petitioning your honor to find him now an incorrigible witness and to enter a new order to release him from prison."

John Wesley Lord of Boston, Methodist Bishop of the New England area, also wrote to the judge urging Dr. Uphaus' release: "Surely you are aware that a wave of revulsion is sweeping the nation at that which has taken place in the state of New Hampshire. You cannot ignore the nature of the criticism that you are receiving, or the caliber of those from whom it is being received."

At a conference of Universalist and Unitarian ministers in the New England area held at Philips Exeter Academy at North Andover, Mass., a resolution urging a revision of the law under which Dr. Uphaus was convicted was adopted by a vote of 42 to 5. New Hampshire legislators were called upon to "grant a fuller protection of human liberty and conscience."

NINTH COMMANDMENT: The Rev. Kenneth Hughes, rector of St. Bartholomew's Church at Cambridge, Mass., wrote in **The Witness** for Dec. 31: "Does the conscience of the convinced Christian and his obedience to the Ninth Commandment of God (thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor) count for naught? Is the security of the state more sacrosanct than the inviolability of the individual?"

The **Christian Century** for Dec. 30 said: "A man has been sent to prison because he refused to cooperate in a process of exposure which penalized people without trial or proof of violation of law. It is high time that this process should be held up, as Dr. Uphaus is holding it up, to the conscience of America."

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS
His conscience is clear

The **Watchman-Examiner** in its January issue said: "It is incredible that in our country a man with a reputation for being ultra-Christian and not a mere professional one should be put behind bars for conscience sake! . . . And if a man's conscience is not free, there is no freedom at all."

J. D. BERNAL WRITES: The Providence **Journal** on Dec. 19 called the Uphaus case "the persecution of an essentially blameless citizen." Other newspapers which have protested the Uphaus conviction editorially include the New York **Times**, the New York **Post**, the Washington **Post**, the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**, the Boston **Globe** and the Hartford **Courant.**

The Uphaus case acquired international scope when Prof. J. D. Bernal, one of Great Britain's best-known scientists, wrote to the U. S. Ambassador in London urging Presidential action in behalf of Dr. Uphaus. Prof. Bernal, writing as chairman of the leading committee of the World Council of Peace, of which Dr. Uphaus is a member, said:

"Dr. Willard Uphaus is known as a sincere and devote pacifist and honored for his uprightness and strength of Christian conviction in many parts of the world. He has been devoted to the concern to bring together people of East and West and people differing widely in philosophy, beliefs or political thought, so that through personal contact and deeper knowledge, enmities may be overcome and understanding and friendship may be fostered.

"THESE NOBLE AIMS": "It is distressing to those who know him or his work in many other countries to learn that his steadfastness in these noble aims has led to what must seem to the outside observer an inhuman political persecution. The good name of the U.S. can only suffer from this.

"To take this action now against Dr. Uphaus is all the more deplorable since it conflicts with the present trend of relaxation in international relations and with the policy being so actively and admirably pursued by President Eisenhower. Indeed, one could say that the President is seeking to apply in his policy what Dr. Uphaus has been preaching."

Prof. Bernal disclaimed any intent to interfere in the internal affairs of the U.S., but added: "But this question affects the international good name of the U.S. I would ask you, therefore, to convey personally to the President the great concern caused in this and many other countries among people who highly esteem the President's efforts for peace and better relations between the peoples, by this treatment of Dr. Uphaus. We hope that the President will himself look into the case, and cause it to be reviewed and Dr. Uphaus set at liberty."

The Nazi revival

(Continued from Page 1)

THE LONG TRAIN: There followed a long procession of American business interests bent on renewing their connections and reviving their German-based subsidiaries. Among them were Armco and Republic Steel, Olin Mathiessen, Caterpillar Tractor, Intl. Harvester, Ford, GM, IBM and Standard Oil. In a little over a decade the cartels and monopolies were back at their old stand—I. G. Farben, August Thyssen, Friedrich Flick and, of course, Alfred Krupp.

The crusading spirit for denazification did not last long. War crime trials were soon halted by President Truman's Secy. of the Army, Gen. Kenneth Royall. Columnist Drew Pearson wrote (March 2, 1946) that "a secret report" then in the office of Gen. Frank A. Meade showed "complete failure to clean out high-ranking Nazis." The report also said that, to circumvent regulations against employing Nazis in any post higher than that of a "laborer," the U.S. Army listed as "common laborers" Nazis they were putting in charge of manufacturing plants and assigning secretaries and stenographers to them.

THE RATS RETURN: Nourished by the West's anti-communism, the Nazis gradually but increasingly rose to positions of power and influence as judges, school teachers, officers in the armed forces and government officials. In October, 1951, Adenauer admitted before parliament that 134 members of his Foreign Ministry staff were former Nazi members and that 130 government officials had served in Hitler's Foreign Ministry.

Tvorba, Prague
The Shadow of the Superman

In the wake of the present anti-Semitic demonstrations, even some pro-Adenauer West German newspapers have called for eliminating former Nazis from the government. The Frankfurt **Neue Presse** asked if the time had not come "for Adenauer to say there is no place in the Federal Republic for men like [Refugee] Minister Oberlaender and State Secretary Globke." Nazis apparently are so numerous in Adenauer's government that, according to an **AP** report (Jan. 12), U.S. authorities, who have an almost complete record of the 10,000,000 membership cards of the Nazi party, have banned information to the press about the records of former Nazis. The State Dept., **AP** said, "feels that the information might be embarrassing" to the Adenauer government.

ONCE AGAIN GUNS: The plan to impart democratic ideals to the West German youth by familiarizing them with Nazi atrocities has remained largely on paper. John A. Callcott reported (**UPI**, Jan. 23) that statistics supplied by the State of Hesse education ministry show that 90% of German youth are taught nothing about Hitler and the Nazi regime.

In the name of guarding Western Europe against "communist subversion," the Western powers soon reversed on keeping West Germany disarmed. Beginning with an increase in the infantry, and the pledge to keep Bonn's armed forces under check within the European Defense Community, they have now built it into the most formidable West European force, complete with the most modern weapons.

The Adenauer government presents a democratic facade, behind which the Chancellor has been exercising autocratic rule, ignoring all but the most formal parliamentary procedure. The London **New Statesman** said (Jan. 9):

"Dr. Adenauer does not share Hitler's doctrines. But throughout the last decade he has been re-creating the authoritarian climate in which they flourished. German democracy has degenerated into virtual one-party rule; and that party has become the servile instrument of a single will. Increasingly, Adenauer has staffed his administration with men who flourished within the Nazi machine. The Goerings and Goebbels perished; the Krupps still flourish."

EXPANSIONIST AIMS: Thus, a little more than a decade after World War II ended, the West German economy again is in the hands of the same expansionist clique, and Bonn's armed forces are again officered by the same aggressive military class. West German cartels today dominate the West European economy and are reaching out onto other continents. Bonn officials speak increasingly of greater "living space" without protest from their allies.

Interior Minister Gerhard Schroeder has spoken of recovering "land which has been stolen from us." Oberlaender has promised: "One day, Germans will stand once again on the soil which we have only temporarily lost." Transport Minister Hans Christoph Seebohm reportedly has claimed all Bohemia and Moravia for Germany. Bonn Treasury official Herman Lindrath has assured the Germans that "the Federal Republic has accepted as its personal concern the homeland claim of its citizens of Sudeten German origin."

President Heinrich Luebke declared last June 24 that he had "not abandoned hope of seeing the reestablishment of our former Reich." And Adenauer himself, last June 28, told a crowd of Silesians—whose territory is now under Polish rule—that he insisted on their right to return to their former homes. All but Adenauer and Luebke have Nazi records.

VIRULENT DISEASE: While the Chancellor continued to ignore pleas to dismiss known Nazis from his administration, C. L. Sulzberger in the New York **Times** said (Jan. 16):

"Chancellor Adenauer has insistently and nobly worked to restore to his people moral value and expunge from their dark soul the stain of Hitler."

West Germany's disease has again assumed its most virulent form: expanding its economic domination and territorial boundaries. This disease — nurtured in Washington, Paris and London—twice precipitated world wars and, under Hitler, used communists and Jews as scapegoats.

The same scapegoats are once again being invoked to prevent East-West coexistence which, if it comes into being, will at least circumscribe German expansionism.

"Eugene Onegin" to be shown at UCLA Feb. 5-8

THE SOVIET-MADE color film of Tchaikovsky's opera **Eugene Onegin** will be given five performances in Royce Hall Auditorium on the University of California at Los Angeles campus. The film will be shown at 8:30 from Friday, Feb. 5 through Monday, Feb. 8, and at a special Sunday matinee at 3 p.m. under the auspices of the university's committee on Fine Arts Productions.

A companion film on Tchaikovsky's life will also be shown, with music played by Van Cliburn, Svyatoslav Richter and others. A new box office telephone has been installed to handle reservations—GR 8-7578.

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BOOKS

For status, Princeton's the best

TWO SEASONS ago Vance Packard's best-selling **Hidden Persuaders** informed millions of Americans that subtle psychological pressures were being used by advertisers to sell them things they didn't want. Now, for the last six months, Packard has had another smash hit, **The Status Seekers,*** telling us there are still classes in America, with barriers between them.

What is it that has made this a best seller? Does it throw any new light on our class structure?

The book's popularity is easy to understand. Almost all of it is painless read-

London Daily Mirror

"Your keys, sir—and remember, drive carefully, for one day it may be yours!"

ing, anecdotal, conversation-making, and unalarming. Much of it is genuinely entertaining. Packard's researches have turned up a rich mass of material for TV sketch writers and others who enjoy the mechanics of keeping up with the Joneses. For example, there's a nice story about a self-made millionaire who bought a lot in an exclusive Boston suburb and built an Italian-style villa on it. He was ostracized by his wealthy neighbors until he tore it down and put up something suitably Colonial.

THERE IS ADVICE for those who want to get ahead in the world, though Packard has not presumably written his book as a guide to material success. He tells us, for example, that if one wants to be a boss, one had better go to college—to Princeton, if possible. And that if one wants to be rich, one should become a doctor. He offers impressive figures on doctor ownership of swimming pools and power boats. And he comes close to suggesting there is an artificial scarcity of doctors, created by the doctors themselves.

A more serious part of Packard's book is what he has to say about "upward mobility" in our class structure. American society, he says, is divided into two main groups—the upper classes and what he calls "the supporting classes," and it now is almost impossible to move from one to the other without a college diploma, because the old paths upward no longer exist.

That is, the employers divide their recruits into two classes, the diploma-holders and the others. And the upward path for the others goes nowhere. No longer can a young man rise from book-keeper to treasurer in a big company, because big companies don't have book-keepers any more. Bookkeeping is done by machinery.

Nor are assembly line production work-

Wall Street Journal

"I don't know—lately I find myself asking, "What's in it for me?"

ers going anywhere. They are no longer skilled machinists. A man of 25 years experience works alongside a high school boy who does the same job with equal skill and speed—and pay. Furthermore, according to one sociologist quoted by Packard, few production workers have any real hope of advancement, either in the plant or outside. He quotes another scholar as saying, "Management should remember that many workers are aggressively hostile because they have lost hope for tomorrow."

THESE ARE serious problems, of the kind for which perfectionists, malcontents and radicals are always seeking solutions. But readers who have followed Packard's analysis will be disappointed in the solutions he has to offer. For example:

"In this time of transcendent challenge and danger to our way of life, it seems clear that we can endure and prevail only if the vast majority of our people really believe in our system."

Another:

"We should work to make opportunity a reality in our land of the free."

Not much of a prescription to cure the social evils he describes.

—Sam Moore

*THE STATUS SEEKERS, *by Vance Packard. D. McKay Co., N. Y. 376 pp. $4.50.*

International skullduggery

SOVIET PHYSICIST Peter Kapitsa, formerly a co-worker with Rutherford at Cambridge University and still owning a house in that town, went to Moscow for a conference in 1935 and never returned. At one time under a cloud in the U.S.S.R. but now its top nuclear man with special experience in rocket fuels, he recently showed his love for Cambridge by offering his house as accommodation for research workers there.

Kuprin, the Soviet nuclear genius of this international blood-and-thunder novel a la Grahame Greene,* is a specialist in rocket fuels and hankers after his British alma mater. "Koopy," as he was known to the chaps at Cambridge, is a hater of war whom Stalin put under house arrest because he wouldn't work on the H-bomb.

"The characters in this book are fictitious," etc. . . . Be that as it may, it is a superlative job in its class most of the way. The plot is about the mission to Russia of a nasty Tory MP (selected because the responsible Minister is hot after his wife) and a journalist (a Cambridge friend of "Koopy's") to try to persuade the genius to defect to Britain. The Soviets are ahead in nuclear weapons, and the idea is that Kuprin's defection, by "evening things up," would make success more likely at a forthcoming Summit disarmament conference.

Edelman has a sharp, sophisticated, and on the whole friendly eye for Soviet color and characterization. His climax, when Kuprin refuses to go and the journalist kills him, introduces a note of sadism which is inaccurate in its gory details as well as unnecessary. If it is meant to be politically symbolic, it shows the West as the side which resorts to violence "for the sake of peace." If it is merely supposed to be "what Western readers want," so much the worse for Western readers. **—Cedric Belfrage**

*A CALL ON KUPRIN, *by Maurice Edelman. Lippincott, Philadelphia and New York. 256 pp. $3.95.*

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Distortion on Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

of paying subsidies, for political reasons, to newspapers and individual journalists.

Most U.S. newspapers have belittled the unexpectedly rapid economic and social reforms of the Castro regime, but others have been more honest in their reports. The New York **Herald Tribune** on Jan. 2 accused Castro of battering "his impulsive way through the nation's crumbling economy," making "extravagant promises . . . to an underprivileged people" but "rapidly destroying the tools with which he might have built a brighter future and redeemed his promises."

But feature editor Joyce Blum of the Clearwater, Fla., **Sun** wrote on Jan. 6: "If you had an idea . . . that the Revolution had made the country one of horror and sadness, put that picture out of your mind . . . In contrast to the many beggars and filthy poverty rampant during Batista's regime, these people look happy, they're exceptionally well-dressed, the restaurants are filled, and the night clubs are packed."

HAPPIER THAN EVER: Presbyterian minister Alfred H. Davies, who had toured Cuba with 30 other U.S. clergymen, reported in the Tenafly, N.J. **Press Journal** on Dec. 10 that the "picture of Cuba given us by much of the American press and especially the news magazines is both distorted and inaccurate." He said he found the people "happier and more hopeful" than ever before, with great progress in children's education, road-building and housing projects. Other ministers concurred.

Columnist William G. Nunn Sr. of the Pittsburgh **Courier**, second largest of U.S. Negro newspapers, was a member of a large group of Americans, including 76 Negroes, who visited Cuba in December at Castro's invitation. He reported on Jan. 16 that Castro has won complete cooperation of the Cuban people "because their future lies in 100% effort and production."

Nunn said he had received "courtesies which stem from the heart of a people who practice the democracy Americans give lip service to." He added: "I have seen democracy in action . . . If you get a chance to visit the country, we guarantee you will be thrilled, enthralled, enchanted." Joe Louis, who was also in the group, endorsed Nunn's views.

THE COOPERATIVES: The 500 cooperatives set up in Cuba by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA) have either been ignored or misrepresented as failures by most U.S. dailies and weeklies. But Chesly Manly of the Washington **Post** and Alan Levy of the Louisville **Courier-Journal** have praised them.

Manly on Jan. 2 gave a favorable description of Los Piños, a complex of ten farm and livestock cooperatives near San Cristobal, in Piñar del Rio Province, 65 miles southeast of Havana. Los Piños occupies 8,455 acres of land which formerly belonged to Batista's son Ruben. It has 200 families, 125 of whom had previously been evicted by Batista.

Los Piños is an example of the agricultural diversification which is INRA's goal. Its produce includes many foods formerly imported—rice, okra, cucumbers, peppers and tomatoes. It also produces dairy products and raises cattle, hogs and chickens.

Manly saw concrete block dwellings under construction which will be sold to the farmers by INRA on a long-term basis. John Bohatch and Gene Vaughn, two American agricultural experts advising the Cubans, told Manly: "This is a first-class operation."

HIGH PRAISE: **Courier-Journal** staff writer Alan Levy and his wife, both of whom speak Spanish, traveled extensively in Cuba. In a series of articles beginning Jan. 1, Levy described a country galvanized into planned activity. He paid special tribute to INRA, which he said "has cut a huge swath across Cuba in its seven-month history [and] appears to be Cuba's economic salvation."

CASTRO (IN GLASSES) AND FRIENDS
The attacks in the press increase

INRA, Levy reported, is involved in vast road, school and housing projects throughout the country at an incredibly fast pace; through agricultural diversification, Cuba is ready to export rice instead of importing it; Oriente Province alone recently exported $5,000,000 worth of tomatoes. He said that fishermen's cooperatives build their own fishing fleets and, as in Manzanillo, even their own homes with the aid of soldiers and government architects. The cooperatives have been so successful that INRA is building motels for visitors in the hope of attracting "tourists who want more from Cuba than drinking and gambling."

CHILDREN'S CITY: Levy said the Cubans are proudest of El Caney—a children's city INRA is building in the foothills of the Sierra Maestra, where the 26th of July revolutionary movement was born, and where poverty and illiteracy have been most acute. The Army is rapidly constructing some 600 buildings to serve as a boarding school—dormitories, classrooms, libraries and a hospital—which will accommodate 20,000 Sierra Maestra children between the ages of six and 18. The first 60 mountain children were already there when Levy visited El Caney, which has "so greatly captured the Cuban imagination that on Sundays, truckloads of city folk come out to help the soldiers build it."

Fernando Alonso, husband of Cuban ballerina Alicia Alonso, told Levy: "You have come to see what you've read about. Well, you won't see it." And Levy found that "the Cuba that meets the eye today [is] not the Cuba described in **Time** magazine or in **U.S News & World Report** as a 'land of fear'."

Levy added: "The Cuba we are seeing is . . . for the first time in many years a happy and busy land. It is wonderful with many amazing, important developments. It is already a showcase for Latin America."

THE FANTASIES: It is these headlong developments that have aroused the fears of U.S. vested interests in Cuba and the rest of Latin America, and the fear accounts for the wild distortions and lies in much of the U.S. and Latin American press.

A prime example of such distortion is the report of Hearst columnist David Sentner, Nov. 12, 1959, about the construction of "a gigantic concrete 'emplacement' in Camaguey Province" and the query: "Are Red Russian military technicians helping the anti-American Castro government to build a missile base?" Robert Taber noted in the **Nation** that Sentner's report of a "concrete emplacement" was lifted bodily from Graham Greene's satirical novel, **Our Man in Havana**, in which a British intelligence agent in Havana invented the story to satisfy his employers.

2800 invitations mailed for Guardian L.A. party

TICKETS have gone out and reservations are pouring in for the gala GUARDIAN 11th Anniversary Birthday Party, to be celebrated in Los Angeles Saturday evening, Feb. 13. The affair will be held in the ballroom of the Alexandria Hotel, 5th and Spring Sts., and will begin with a coffee and dessert hour from 7:30 to 8:30, with the program starting promptly at 8:45.

Key speaker will be Dr. Annette Rubinstein, lecturer, critic and raconteur, whose subject will be "Beards and Sandals vs. The Grey Flannel Suit." Ben Margolis, well-known Los Angeles attorney, will be Master of Ceremonies.

Friends of the GUARDIAN in the Los Angeles area are urged to make their reservations immediately by writing Jack Fox, 465 South Detroit, Los Angeles 36. Reservations are $1.50.

Disarmament conference ot be held in N.Y. Jan. 30

A CONFERENCE on The Economic Challenge of Disarmament, sponsored by The Faculty of Social Science, will be held Saturday, Jan. 30, from 1 to 6 p.m. at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av. (near 14th St.). Speakers are Robert Dunn, Hyman Lumer and Victor Perlo, with Dr. Herbert Aptheker as chairman. Papers are to be read from Joseph Gillman, Jurgen Kuczynski, George Wheeler and John Eaton. Audience participation is invited. Admission is $1.

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Langston Hughes in Chicago Feb. 7

LANGSTON HUGHES, Negro poet and writer, will speak at the Afro-American Heritage Assn. program commemorating Negro History Week (Feb. 7-14) on Sunday, Feb. 7, at 2:30 p.m. at the Wabash YMCA, 38th and Wabash Ave., Chicago.

Mr. Hughes is author of **Simple Speaks His Mind** and numerous other works of poetry and prose.

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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

"OUTLOOK FOR 1960"
Speaker: GUS HALL, Gen. Secy. C.P. U.S.A. Sat., Feb. 6, 8 p.m., at 32 W. Randolph St., Hall B-2, 10th floor.
Entertainment. Adm. at door $1.
Ausp: Freedom of the Press Committee.
All Welcome!

LOS ANGELES

KENNETH SPENCER CONCERT
Great American Bass, only L.A. appearance
Fri., Feb. 5 8 p.m.
First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St.
Admission 1.50. Mail orders should be accompanied by check.

ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN, Ph.D.
speaking on
"How Lost Was the 'Lost Generation'"
Sun., Feb. 7 1:30 p.m.
First Unitarian Church of L.A.
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SOBELL COMMITTEES present
DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN:
L. A. AREA: Sun., Feb. 14, 8:30 p.m.
"Emancipation on Stage & Off: Mencken, Millay, Eugene O'Neill"
WEST L.A.: Sun., Feb. 7, 8:30 p.m.
"Man Triumphant in Shakespeare—and Woman Too!"
ALTA-PASADENA: Sun., Feb. 14, 8:30 p.m.
"New England's Emily Dickinson, Thoreau, Emerson"
THE VALLEY: Sat., Feb. 20, 8:30 p.m.
"Theodore Dreiser, Voice of the 'New' American"
THE HARBOR AREA: Sun., Feb. 21
Buffet Supper—4:30-7 p.m.
Lecture 7 p.m. sharp, "Gorky and Nexo"
Contribution: $1.25*
(*Harbor Area Buffet Sup. & lecture $2.)
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The PEOPLE'S WORLD FORUM in observance of NEGRO HISTORY WEEK, presents DR. ANNETTE RUBINSTEIN, noted author and lecturer. Subject:
THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LITERATURE.
Question and answer period. Fri., Feb. 5, 8 p.m., Park Manor, 607 S. Western.
Admission: 75c

UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM
Fri., Feb. 12th, 8 p.m.
2936 W. 8th St., presents
Cecilia Rosenfeld, M.D. "NEW MEDICAL HORIZONS"—H3 Treatment in Rumania & in Soviet Union. Dr. Rosenfeld has just returned from Bucharest and Moscow.
Adm. $1. — Question period.

NO. HOLLYWOOD

DISARMAMENT, TAXES & YOUR JOB
Speakers: Del Huserik, Tom Chapman, Reuben Borough, Dick Nevins. Fri., Feb. 5th at 8 p.m., JWV Hall, 11929 Ventura Blvd., No. Hollywood. Auspices: Association for the Rights of Man.

SAN FRANCISCO

SCOTT NEARING—speaking on:
"THE SOVIET UNION SINCE SPUTNIK"
Sat., Feb. 6th, 8 p.m. at
150 Golden Gate Ave., S.F.
Ausp: American Russian Institute

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Negro citizens denied right to register and vote in the South will testify
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NEW YORK

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Papers: JOHN EATON,
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"Political Economy"
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"The Falling Rate of Profit"
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SATURDAY, FEB. 28th
For Welcome Home Luncheon
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Sat., Jan. 30th, 8:30 p.m.
Carol Jansen, Helen Kurland—folksongs;
Kenneth Whitlock—readings;
Rose Bowman—blues & ballads.
Social before and after program.
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Thurs., Feb. 4th, 8:30 p.m.

"Soviet Education—
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ELIZABETH MOOS, author of recent pamphlet of same name.

Third in Winter lecture series

"The World Today"
Full series: $7; single sessions: $1.
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Fri., Feb. 5th, 8:30 p.m.

"The 'Proletarian' Literature of the 1930's"
PHILIP BONOSKY, co-editor, "Mainstream," author of "Burning Valley," etc.

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PROTEST RALLY
AGAINST THE UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE'S INQUISITION OF AMERICAN YOUTH
Sunday, Jan. 31, 8 p.m.
FRATERNAL CLUBHOUSE
110 W. 48th St. (near 6th Av.)
Walter's Committee has subpenaed five young New Yorkers: Joanne Grant, Fred Jerome, Alan McGowan, Paul Robeson Jr., and Jake Rosen for hearings next week. Ausp: Emergency Civil Liberties Comm., Religious Freedom Comm., Youth vs. Un-American Activities Comm.

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Fri., Feb. 12, 8:30 p.m.
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Lenin Memorial Meeting
Speaker: MURRY WEISS, on
The Revolutionary Party—
Myth and Reality
Fri., Jan. 29, 8:30 p.m. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. Contribution: 50c.

"THE CUBAN REVOLUTION"
An Eye Witness Report on Cuba
by
Henry Gitano
Special Reporter for the Militant
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Huge collection imported linen casement, from 40 to 54 inch wide, sells in decorator houses $9 per yd. While they last, small pieces under 5 yds. (excellent for coats, table mats, etc.—not matchable) 95c yd., 10 yd. pieces, not matchable, $1.50 yd.; 10yd. pieces matchable $2 yd. Huge rolls, up to 50 yds—$2.50 yd. Silk prints & other formals, sold from $10-$30 yd. (HERE) Now at great reductions.
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THE GALLERY

IT IS STANDARD practice for broadcasting executives, as it used to be with Hollywood moguls, to blame their tasteless shows on the low intelligence of the mass audience. The plethora of cowpokes and private eyes on television and rock 'n' roll disc jockeys on radio is explained by "that's what the people want." Elaborate charts on audience ratings are invoked to prove the point.

Hollywood argued the same way with each Andy Hardy picture it put out. It might still be pointing its films at that "dumb little housewife in Kansas" if television had not come along. TV appropriated the mass audience by eliminating the admission booth. The film companies were thus forced to seek an "adult" audience and began producing reasonably good movies. To their amazement, their films made money. The housewife in Kansas, they reasoned, had grown up. Actually she was grown up all along; the moguls were the dopes.

Broadcasting is not likely to learn this lesson until audiences have a say in programming. New Yorkers recently had a chance to sound off and 30,000 did. The result is that Channel 13's "Play of the Week" is no longer in danger of extinction.

THE PROGRAM, which began last fall, is a two-hour presentation of a top-notch play by a professional cast. It is filmed on

tape and repeated every night of the week. Commercials are inserted only at the end of each act. Plays already shown include Medea, The Waltz of the Toreadors, The Power and the Glory, The World of Sholem Aleichem, The Cherry Orchard and The Emperor's Clothes. Helen Hayes, Judith Anderson, Morris Carnovsky, Sam Levene, Howard da Silva, Viveca Lindfors and Susan Strasberg are some of the players who have appeared.

The program won immediate approval of audiences and critics. Top Broadway actors volunteered to appear although salaries were a fraction of what networks pay. Everyone seemed delighted with the program except Madison Avenue. The advertising brains couldn't recommend the show to sponsors because it did not have a "mass audience."

By the end of December the program had only spot commercials and was about to be canceled. But on Dec. 29 New York **Times** television critic Jack Gould took up the cause. He wrote: "'The Play of the Week' no longer can be regarded merely as a television program. In its broadest sense the presentation is a new cultural asset of the community, a heaven-sent means of extending the riches of adult theater into countless homes in the metropolitan area." He asked readers to write to the station urging continuation of the show.

FOR GOOD MEASURE **Times** theater critic Brooks Atkinson added his voice on Jan. 6: "The theater also has a stake in the continuance of the finest series in the field of TV entertainment. To the thousands of theatergoers who cannot afford to go to the theater . . . 'The Play of the Week' has brought excellent performances of some of the theater's treasures, great and small."

In two weeks 30,000 persons wrote to the station; some included contributions. The stations phone wires were often tied up by people pleading for a continuation of the program.

The message got across to the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey (Esso). On Jan. 14, M. J. Rathbone, president of the company, announced that beginning Feb. 8 "The Play of the Week" had a sponsor. He also said that choice of plays, actors and directors would remain with the station and commercials would be few and placed only between the acts.

The good news need not be limited to New York. The program is available to any station. If people in other cities campaigned with local stations, the show could be seen. With a little effort, the little housewife in Kansas might get to see it.

— Robert E. Light

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WOMAN SHARE 5-rm. garden apt. with 2 working women. Separate bedrooms. Astoria (Ditmar BMT station). Available March 1. $14 week.

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FOR RENT

3-RM. APT., modern Green. Vill., rent reduced to $50 in exchange for light janitorial duties. Ideal for couple where wife wishes to stay home yet add to family income. YU 4-7247 after 5 p.m. or week-ends.

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Annual Clearance Sale!

As Guardian Buying Service customers have long known, each new year we clear our shelves of unsold items—sometimes at a tiny profit, sometimes at cost, and always at a substantial saving to you. Here are the odds and ends left over this year. We sold thousands of dollars worth of these items earlier, and now you can get them at even lower prices. They're good to have on hand for birthday and anniversary gifts. Only the number shown are available, so get your order in immediately. For further information on most of these items see the Holiday Shopping Guide.

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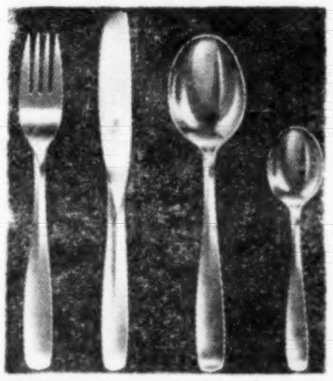

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the SPECTATOR

One man's stature

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH was born in Crescent City, Fla., 70 years ago, the son of former slaves. Among his more distant forebears was the Virginian John Randolph, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

On Jan. 24, 3,000 of his admirers jammed New York's Carnegie Hall (an equal number were turned away) to pay tribute to the nation's foremost Negro labor leader. It is a measure of the man's stature that, on a platform sparkling with almost every constellation in the civil rights galaxy, it fell to Randolph to make the most pertinent statement about the Negro's struggle for equality.

He did it without even trying. For his speech, prepared in advance, was not intended to steal anybody's thunder or project himself unduly. He merely sought to get at the heart of the current phase of his people's fight for freedom. This has been his habit for years—to seek out what is essential and work on it.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

In 1925 when Negroes were widely barred from industry and labor unions, he organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in face of the opposition of the railroad magnates and the lily-white operating Brotherhoods.

Even before that he had discerned the imperialist character of World War I and used the pages of **The Messenger**, a radical magazine which he co-edited, and soap boxes on street corners throughout the nation, to urge Negroes not to fight in it. For his pains, the government imprisoned him.

TWENTY-FOUR YEARS and one war later, in 1942, he organized the March on Washington Movement to protest the widespread exclusion of Negroes from defense industries. The threat of thousands of angry Negroes descending on the capital literally forced President Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802, the first fair employment mandate in the nation's history.

In 1948 Randolph organized the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience to advise Negro youth to refuse conscription into a jimcrow army. Months later President Truman signed Executive Order 9981, abolishing segregation in the armed services.

More recently he was the prime mover in the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington in 1957 and in the 1958 and '59 Youth Marches for Integrated Schools, all aimed at forcing government action to implement the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

Through all this he has remained, as NAACP Exec-Secy. Roy Wilkins remarked at Carnegie Hall, a man of unquestioned integrity, "impeccable, unpurchaseable, uninfluenced—a rare thing, a precious gift."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt saw his significance in the fact that he has always brought respect to himself and the cause he represented. Norman Thomas found the meaning of the man in his embodiment of "the absolute principle that labor and Negroes have to rise together in this country." Martin Luther King hailed his refusal "to sell his race for a mess of pottage."

Sens. Hubert Humphrey and Jacob Javits fittingly used the occasion to reaffirm their devotion to effective civil rights legislation. (A few minutes later three distinguished actors—Ruby Dee, John Randolph and Ossie Davis—read a skit on Randolph's life in which they quoted him as saying: "The Republican party, representing the corporate interests of the North, and the Democrats, shackled by the Dixiecrats of the South, do not represent the interests of the Negro. The two old parties have failed the Negro.")

Rep. A. Clayton Powell, always a spellbinder, announced that Speaker Rayburn had that day informed him he would succeed Rep. Graham Barden (D-N.C.) as chairman of the House Labor and Education Committee, and reminded his listeners that that very week, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen ended its policy of excluding Negroes—an outcome of Randolph's long struggle in railway labor.

BUT THE NIGHT WAS RANDOLPH'S. "There is opportunity to win the fight for civil rights," he said, and "there is danger we may lose it." He saw the main difficulty in the fact that "the leaders of nations do not act from motives of pure justice," but rather respond to the greatest pressure.

Randolph urged: "We must make it clear that if reaction can win by creating discord in the community, peace cannot be found by sacrificing our rights to reaction because we shall not remain quiet, polite or content until justice is firmly in our hands."

He then announced his intention to call for civil rights marches on the Democratic and Republican conventions. The audience responded with a roar.

Randolph had done it again. He had brought the theory to life with a proposal for bold and appropriate action. Therein lies the essence of his leadership and the reason for his veneration by masses of American Negroes.

—Louis E. Burnham.